

WORKERS of the WORLD UNITE THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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The Passing Show.

Australia Day turned out to be a Jingo Day.

It is easier to get the average Mug to fight the Turks or Germans than to fight the local land and money thieves.

Their country is very dear to exploiters—far more dear than the lives of the workers.

Fisher and other hired exhorters are hurrying to get the last man away to the war. To get the last shilling of the exploiters will be a more ticklish matter.

The old parties value money highly, but set a low value on life.

Socialists hold that human life is sacred and should be treated as such.

Many men rush into war to get out of wage-slavery. It is a more respectable way than straight-out suicide.

There is no argument for conscription—only ignorance and prejudice.

Society has not yet learned to call things by their proper names. The financier is seldom called a thief; the soldier is rarely called a murderer.

The greatest political problem of today: How to urge the other fellow to go to the slaughter without letting him see the joke.

It is literally raining metal in Europe. If a man is killed by every 100 tons that falls, it is regarded as a good tally—by so-called "civilised" people.

Several million working men in Europe are hurling missiles at each other, and it is safe to say that not one in a million knows why.

Under capitalism it is much easier to get rich by robbery than by industry. Socialism will make it easier to live by industry than by robbery.

If the workers were all united in helping themselves, they would no more think of shooting each other than they would of hoisting themselves into heaven by their bootstraps.

Prof. Garner, who has made a life-long study of monkeys, says that a monkey reasons like a man. This may be, but judging by the present war, men don't reason like monkeys. They seem to reason like some more savage animal.

"Neither Serbia nor Russia, despite a costly war, is hated."—Frankfurter "Zeitung."

No, financially and economically, they aren't dangerous.

"Fight and bleed for we men of greed. When you ask for bread we'll give you lead."—Recruiter's aside.

Notwithstanding the oratory of Joe Cook, Holman, and the two Archbishops of Sydney, a packed audience at the Sydney Exhibition building last Saturday night only yielded 105 recruits for the war. At the Stadium the same evening, Premier Holman and G. C. Wade, Liberal Squeaker, were hooted out of the ring when they attempted to address the "stouche" followers.

"Our Empire," he went on, "is in danger, Australia is in danger, and the danger is such as has never before faced the British Empire. The enemy against us wants to rob us of our liberty, and all that is dear to us. If Germany wins, our homes will not be safe, the honor of our mothers, our wives, our daughters, and our sisters will not be safe. That has got to be stopped. Talking is no good. We have got to draw the sword and say: This shall not be, in the name of God! Our Australian lads have covered themselves with immortal glory, but there is not enough of them. The gaps have to be filled; will you fill

them."—Dr. Wright, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney.

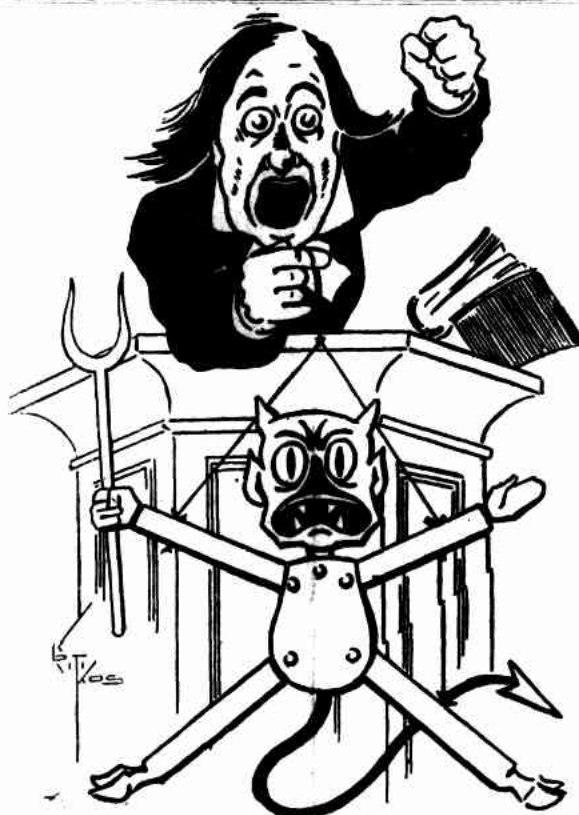
"Germany has already shown what can be done by a united empire under conditions unique in history. Before August she annually imported £500,000,000 worth of goods, and to-day her import trade has been brought to a standstill by the vice-like grip of the British Navy. Yet she has succeeded in so adjusting her industrial system that she is a self-contained nation. She has managed to dispense with these £500,000,000 of imports, and still does not show any serious disturbance or dislocation in her domestic life. She is manufacturing locally for her own needs, and has organised and is controlling the distribution of the necessities of life. She has almost—if not actually—performed a miracle, and our Empire will have to repeat the operation or be robbed of much of its vitality and strength."—London correspondent of "Sydney Sun."

The two foregoing pars illustrate two different methods of prosecuting the war. Germany has scientifically organised and adjusted her industrial system, while here we rely on blathering clerics and politicians, who ignorantly rave about "honor" and "liberty" instead of doing something practical.

Billy Sunday's hell-fire oratory doesn't appeal to enlightened Americans, and his message prompts awkward questions. A Philadelphia professor recently wrote to Billy asking him what message his Christianity had concerning political corruption, unemployment, the housing of workers, and evil social conditions. Billy replied to the effect that he was in the soul-saving business and meant to stick to it. He probably knows that it is a better paying business than is attempting to benefit men's minds and bodies.

W. R. Moore, of Bristol, England, has resigned the chairmanship of Petters, Ltd., the engineering firm, because they have undertaken to make war munitions, which he finds incompatible with his religious convictions. The clerical shareholders in the War Trust have more elastic consciences. We don't hear of them resigning anything, unless, perhaps, it is the belief in the "Prince of Peace."

Some recent English wills denote that the economic problem doesn't trouble some clergymen. Rev. Canon Carr left



Billy Sunday's Devil.

Now touring America. To tour Britain and Australia shortly.
(With apologies to "The Spur.")

£1341, Rev. A. McElwre £5,890, Rev. C. King Irwin £3,958, Rev. E. Edwards £8,290, Rev. S. E. Busby £9,666, and Rev. H. C. Brewster £31,216. No wonder the clergy are vigorously praying and recruiting. Things are good for them.

Cambridge, one of England's seats of learning, is distinguished by two things, its great University, and its "Cambridge Magazine." The latter is instructive sometimes. A writer, said to be a well-known sociologist, recently warned its readers that with the approach of the hot weather there is likely to be an invasion of bacteria, originating in the "unclean battlefields of Europe." On this, the editor remarked, "Our correspondent seems to overlook the fact that most right thinking people believe in a Friend behind phenomena, a something not ourselves that makes for righteousness, and that will protect us against bacteria, and Germans, though not perhaps against journalists." The editor may have only been joking, but what he says is nevertheless true. Lots of people of the "right-thinking" sort believe that prayer and Providence will protect their bodies and save their souls.

The Kaiser has announced that he will punish Italy for her perfidy. He called upon God recently to punish England, but it seems he is going to deal with Italy himself.

The Bishop of Stepney, Dr. Paget, told a Christian Endeavor meeting that the war was seriously shaking people's faith. "He had evidence on this point which it would be absolutely foolish to ignore. It had affected people who had never faltered in their belief before, people of education as well as those of the lower classes." The war is surely enough to make even the "educated" think and once people begin to think about the war and Divine Providence, they must soon have their "doots."

The Pope is now praying with the energy of a 40 horse-power gas engine for peace. He realises no doubt that if the saints don't soon stop slaughtering each other there'll be none but heatbens and infidels left, and such people might turn the old cathedrals into museums and other scientific institutions.

"The ruthless and unscrupulous ferocity of our great enemy is the most bewildering

ing and ominous fact in modern history.—The Bishop of Sheffield.

It is not the most "bewildering" to those who understand the class struggle and the sordid greed of profit punters. The most bewildering fact of modern history is the simplicity of the workers and greed of their exploiters.

It is rumored that Army Chaplains are shy of mentioning hell to the troops. They are not game to preach any other hell while the war is on. No one could believe in anything worse—unless it is the industrial hell.

Now that Italy is at war, the question of the Pope's safety is being raised. Discussing this matter, London "Daily Chronicle" says that should Benedict XV, decide to leave Italy, Spain is the most probable asylum. Fancy referring to Spain as an "asylum!" And for the Pope!

"London Opinion" has a good joke concerning the clergy. Angry counsel is addressing a clergyman in the witness-box, and he says: "Now then, please, we want the truth here. Remember you're not in your pulpit now." The point of the lawyer's thrust is slightly blunted when we remember that there is a fair amount of hard swearing and other forms of lying going on in the courts as well as the pulpits.

The Pope has given a number of buildings, including one of his palaces at Castel Gandolfo, in the Alban Hills, for the use of wounded soldiers. Benedicts' Saviour never had a palace to give away. He hadn't even a place to lay his head.

The Vickerstown Cricket Club, whose members are war-workers at Messrs. Vickers, Barrow, have decided to play cricket on Sundays. They are so busy they have no time on any other day. The Club will probably not be attacked for desecration of the Sabbath. There are too many of the "black army" on the profiteers' list of the Company.

Many Socialist papers have gone under since the war commenced. We regret this because it gives the others a better chance of carrying on their lying trade. There is need for every Socialist paper in existence, and the disappearance of so many in less than a year will perhaps help our readers to realise the perpetual struggle we have of maintaining a weekly paper like the "International." Other party organs are as a rule fairly heavily subsidised, but a straight-out Socialist paper like ours is never able to look for support anywhere but amongst its own circle of readers, and its continuance says something for their loyalty. With a little extra help we could make ends meet and relieve a little band of valiant workers of some of their load.

At Sydney Stadium, last Saturday night after Premier Holman had vainly tried to get a hearing, it was delightful to see Charley Wade, Liberal bell-wether, patting him commiseratingly on the back. It was a sight which made the Laborites present shriek with laughter.

A. Hilder writes from Byron Bay: "I was much amused when I landed here to see a monument inside the railway gates with the inscription: 'To the Father of the Creamery' on one side, and on the other,

"He was a man,
Take him all in all,
I shall never see his like again."
—Shakespeare.
A kind of cream and culture monument.

"Every class struggle being necessarily a political struggle, it is evident that every political revolution, worthy of the name, is a social revolution; it is evident also that for the proletariat the political struggle is as much a necessity as it has always been for every class struggling to emancipate itself."—Plechanoff, "Anarchism and Socialism."

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to become a subscriber.

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Write on paper not larger than letter paper, and thin enough to avoid getting soiled for over-weight.

Mark the package "Press Matter Only" and address it "To the Editor."

Write briefly and clearly, as long and undecipherable articles stand no chance of publication.

Do not send business communications to the Editor, or literary matter to the Manager. To do so only causes confusion and delay.

If your article is not published do not conclude that it is because it is of no merit for it may be simply owing to the fact that it is not in accordance with the above rules. Where possible, articles of importance should be type-written.

WHEN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION IS DUE.

The number on the wrapper of your paper is the number at which your subscription expires. Renew before that number is reached.

There can be no question of the inseparability of Socialism and the Proletariat. The Social Revolution is admittedly dependent upon the self-conscious growth of the Proletariat class.

—Austin Lewis, in "The Militant Proletariat."

The New German Party.

A recent cable stated that Karl Liebknecht and other comrades in Germany were busy forming a new Socialist party in opposition to the old Social Democratic Party. Socialists here received the news with caution, because past experience has proved many such messages have either been highly coloured by the press or absolutely fabricated to suit the enemy's purposes.

The news relating to the forming of a new party is now, however, strongly corroborated by Rosa Luxemburg in an article in the July number of the "International Socialist Review." In this article Rosa Luxemburg says:

"On August 4, 1914, the German Socialist Democracy handed in its political resignation, and on the same date the Socialist International went to pieces. All attempts to deny this fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about."

From this frank admission Comrade Luxemburg proceeds to describe the present position of the party in Germany, and to severely criticise the apologists for what has been done to bring such a result. She shows that up to August, 1914, Socialism or Imperialism represented the ideals between which the labour parties of the world had to choose. In Germany especially this was clearly recognised, and countless programmes and publications had been issued to emphasise it. In fact, one of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy was the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

With the outbreak of war the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with the new position, the Social Democracy made its choice and decided to throw in its lot with the Imperialists. Thus, although it had been the first to recognise and bring to the consciousness of the working class the underlying truth of the materialist conception of history and historical tendencies, it struck its colours and conceded the victory to Imperialism. "Never before," says Comrade Luxemburg, "since there has been a class struggle, since there have been political parties, has there existed a party which, after fifty years of uninterrupted growth, after the attainment of a pre-eminent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map."

Rosa Luxemburg handles the leaders of the party with the gloves off, but what she says is well worth considering in connection with the news regarding the formation of a new party and the re-building of the International.

After the war there will doubtless be a great "washing of dirty linen." The Socialist movement will criticise and purge itself and come out of the ordeal wiser and stronger than ever. In his "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx acutely remarks:

"Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, rush onward rapidly from success to success, their stage effects outbid one another, men and things seem to be set in flaming brilliancy, ecstasy is the prevailing spirit; but they are short-lived, they reach their climax speedily, then society relapses into a long fit of nervous reaction before it learns how to appropriate the fruits of its period of feverish excitement. Proletarian revolutions, on the contrary, such as those of the nineteenth century, criticise themselves constantly; constantly interrupt themselves in their own course; come back to what seems to have been accomplished, in order to start over anew; scorn with cruel thoroughness the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses of their first attempts; seem to throw down their adversary only in order to enable him to draw fresh strength from the earth, and again to rise up against them in more gigantic stature; constantly recoil in fear before the undefined monster magnitude of their own objects—until finally that situation is created which renders all retreat impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: 'Hic Rhodus, hic salta' (Here is Rhodes, leap here! An allusion to Aesop's Fables).

This remarkable and illuminating passage peculiarly fits the movement to-day, especially in Germany. There the party is criticising itself. It threw its Imperialist enemy down, only to allow him to rise again with renewed strength. It interrupted itself in its course, and is going back to where it commenced in order to start anew. It is scorning the half measures, weaknesses and meannesses that prompted the voting of war credits. It recoiled in terror before the magnitude of its task of confronting Imperialism with the true concept of historical tendencies, and it is rapidly approaching that situation where it will have to leap, where it will have to make its choice of the true alternative. And who amongst us can doubt that in the end the new party in Germany, and elsewhere, will be successful? Who can doubt that this new International will be rebuilt?

CENSORED.

In a preceding note to Rosa Luxemburg's article on "The Rebuilding of the International," in the July "International Socialist Review," W. E. B. says:

"In April Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring published the first number of a magazine called 'The International.' It proved to be also the last number, for the censor forbade its further publication. But many a journal has run on for years without printing as much interesting matter as was crowded between the covers of this one issue. Rosa Luxemburg's article was left unfinished, for she was hustled into jail before the 'International' went to press. Karl Liebknecht was prevented from making his contribution; the recruiting officer laid his hands on him and sent him to a military labour camp. But the two editors, Clara Zetkin, and other brilliant and earnest comrades managed to set into this single number of their journal a fairly complete statement of the position of Germany's Anti-war Socialists and a thorough-going criticism of the actions and theories of the war 'Socialists.'"

W.E.B. makes it clear that there are still some "true" Socialists in Germany who are bravely fighting for the International against odds that have daunted the hearts of weaker ones in the movement.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

We have received from the "Maoriland Worker" Publishing Office, a pamphlet on the Paris Commune, by Harry Holland, editor "Maoriland Worker." In it the author has compressed a handy amount of information for use by those who write and speak of this great attempt at a social revolution. At the present time, when the carnage in Europe is at its height, and people are wondering if a social revolution will spring out of it, Holland's pamphlet is suggestive and interesting. The author shows how the Communards were prevented from accomplishing their object by the attack of the forces of France and Germany, and he depicts the awful butchery inflicted on the workers of Paris in language, which is only faintly parodied by to-day's press accounts of the atrocities now being perpetrated in Europe. One excerpt from many possible ones is here given:

"More than 30,000 women and children

Those Alleged "Fallacies and Delusions of Socialists"

It is curious to see how new critics spring up and go over the old ground, and how discoveries are resurrected and rehabilitated.

Karl Marx has now been dead more than a quarter of a century, but it is safe to say that his influence was never so great as it is at this moment. Innumerable critics have dealt with his work and have discovered "fallacies" galore, but so far none of them have suggested any reasonable explanation of the capitalist system of production, or substituted any logical theory for the masterly analysis contained in "Capital."

Years ago, it used to be said "Marx is out of date," and that "if he were living to-day he would have to go to school again in political economy," etc., but strange to say, whenever such absurdities are exposed, and their authors are challenged, by men like Daniel de Leon, or H. M. Hyndman, they are discretely silent.

Some years ago, the "Economist" attacked Marx's work, and the whole school of Jeavonsians—Marshall, Foxwell, Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, and others—chorused approval. Then came Hyndman's paper on "The Final Futility of Final Utility" which was sent round to them as a challenge, only to be severely left alone.

To-day Marx still holds the field, and nearly all the historic and economic work done during the past thirty years has been along the lines of his generalisations, while the course of events has in the main followed the lines of his accurate forecasts.

Regarding the "fallacies and delusions" resurrected by Wyatt E. Jones, it ought to be known that these were effectively dealt with by Hyndman years ago in England. In his preface to the "Economics of Socialism," Hyndman says:

"The attacks upon Marx's theories, which have led the ignorant or credulous to believe that his entire work is of no great importance, have chiefly been directed upon three points apart from the general contention, which I have already dealt with sufficiently in the lectures themselves, that under the free competitive system of capitalist production and exchange the relative value of commodities, which may be indefinitely reproduced, is not determined on the average, as Marx says it is, by the quantity of necessary social labour embodied in them. These three points are that the growing concentration of capital in larger and larger masses for the purposes of production which Marx predicted is not borne out by the facts in the most economically developed countries; that the gradual crushing out of the middle class or independent bourgeoisie which he anticipated is not going on; and, lastly, that Marx's social labour theory does not explain the fact that equal capital embodied in different branches of industry and distribution may produce on the average equal rates of profit, regardless of the composition of such capital, and is really in direct antagonism to it."

This shows that the "fallacies and delusions" were fairly ancient when Hyndman wrote his book. Of them Hyndman goes on to say:

"The first point calls for little or no consideration. Certain critics have simply been misled by inaccurate statistics of individual shareholders in companies; having thus persuaded themselves that wealth is much more widely distributed than in fact it is. Nobody who has studied

were put to death in that terrible orgy of massacre. In certain streets the corpses encumbered the pathway, looking at the passers-by from out of their dead eyes. In the Faubourg St. Antoine they were to be seen everywhere in heaps, half white with chloride of lime. At one place there was a heap of dead 100 yards long and three yards deep. At another place there were 1,100 bodies covered with the thinnest shroud of earth, showing their ghastly profiles. The 'Temps' reported that from the midst of the moist soil here and there looked out heads, feet, arms and hands. When the rain and heat precipitated the work of putrefaction the swollen bodies re-appeared. The putrid bodies of the murdered threatened the murderers. Then the work of murder was stayed."

We hope to see the pamphlet widely circulated in the Commonwealth, for in a handy form it conveys a clear idea what to expect from the ruling classes when any attempt is made in any one country to take by force the control of material things. The price, two pence, brings it within the reach of all, and it is good value for that modest sum. Copies will be on sale shortly at our literature department.

the development of industry and the apportionment of wealth in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, can doubt for a moment that the tendency of capital is towards concentration in greater and greater masses, or can reasonably dispute that accumulative fortunes tend to grow larger in relatively fewer hands through each succeeding period. The steady increase of trusts furnishes crucial evidence of this tendency, and properly corrected lists of shareholders do the same."

"As to the decay of the independent bourgeoisie, or middle class, that, surely, is very apparent, and follows naturally upon the more effective competition of the larger capitals embarked, whether in production or in distribution. But in some directions the very small shop-keepers are increasing in numbers is also true. These small retailers being, however, merely petty distributors attendant upon the proletariat, are really part of the hand-to-mouth proletariat themselves and not a middle class or bourgeoisie in any serious sense at all. The difference between these poverty-stricken purveyors to the wage-earners and the well-to-do and independent shop-keeping class is too marked to be overlooked even by the most prejudiced opponent of Marx."

"In one direction only is there an apparent exception to the rule of concentration of capital and the extension of the scale of industrial production. This is in relation to the land. It seems now tolerably well established that the general tendency is not towards the success of the general factory farms, as Marx himself at one time thought it might be. Relatively small farming appears, that is to say, to be on the increase and not contrariwise. Here the law of concentration of capital—where co-operation is not introduced—comes in on the next plane, and the agriculturists, though apparently independent small farmers, find themselves at the mercy of and working for the great railways, elevator companies, creameries, canning combinations and the like. But the actual concentration of capital goes on none the less rapidly on this account. It is only the concentration of capital on actual land-culture which has not proceeded as fast."

Hyndman thus, to my mind, undermines by cogent reasoning the masses of statistics collected by Marx's critics. For a simple and detailed exposition of Marx's work, I would recommend a perusal of the "Economics of Socialism." In that work many alleged "fallacies and delusions" are dealt with and laid to rest. But at the risk of trespassing unduly on the space at my disposal, I will give a last quotation from Hyndman's preface:

"But, after all, the best evidence that Marx was not, at one and the same time, the genius and the noodle that his assailants make him out to be lies in the fact that, as already said, his theories have lived down their shallow criticism. When Professors of Political Economy of the highest reputation give up their Chairs rather than continue to teach what is in antagonism to his theories; when all the ablest thinkers in the Socialist movement are of one mind as to the general soundness of his views; when the whole International Socialist Party accepts his doctrines and acts upon his economic principles; and when we bear in mind that all this practically universal recognition is due to no sentimental attraction, still less to any sort of religious enthusiasm, but is wholly and solely dependent upon the irresistible force of pure reason—I think nothing further need be said as to whether Marx's influence is still a decisive force in world-wide sociology.

—RONGEN RAY.

Orange.

"Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand. The tradition of all past generations weighs like an albatross upon the brain of the living. At the very time when men appear engaged in revolutionizing things and themselves, in bringing about what never was before, at such very epochs of revolutionary crisis do they anxiously conjure up into their service the spirits of the past, assume their names, their battle cries, their costumes to exact a new historic scene in such time-honoured disguise and with such narrowed language. Thus did Luther masquerade as the Apostle Paul; thus did the revolution of 1789-1814 drape itself alternately as Roman Republic and as Roman Empire; nor did the revolution of 1848 know what better to do than to parody at one time the year 1789, at another the revolutionary traditions of 1793-95. Thus does the beginner, who has acquired a new language, keep on translating it back into his own mother tongue; only then has he grasped the spirit of the new language and is able freely to express himself therewith when

The Socialist State.

Edgar W. Herbert (Adelaide).

The first thing to be borne in mind is that Socialism is more a principle than a scheme. Nothing else could live and grow and adapt itself to the ever changing conditions of social development. Almost all attempts to define Socialism have landed the Socialist in difficulties, and added to the demand for explanations, which would explain away what the definition said, but what it was not meant to say. Thus the definition: "The social ownership and control of all the means of production, distribution and exchange," taken at its literal value, has called forth no small amount of justly-deserved criticism, as presaging a huge, cumbersome bureaucracy, inflicting a new form of slavery; the very thing which Socialists are striving to remove for ever. Doubtless it was some such picture which inspired Herbert Spencer's "Coming Slavery." When it is understood that Socialism does not involve the necessity of the government to hold all the instruments of production—jack-knives, needles, market baskets, beer-mugs and toothpicks, to loan out and keep account of same, number all the citizens and allot them their tasks, dress them all alike, pick out inventors, philosophers, artists and labourers, arbitrarily determine their recompense, without destroying personal liberty and incentive—the nightmare of the bureaucracy of Socialism vanishes.

The principle which Socialism sees working out through human history and struggle is that of human liberty—freedom for self-expression, the pursuit of happiness. Socialism must be a form of social organisation which will give every individual opportunity for self-development, and in which authority will be reduced to the minimum necessary for the preservation and insurance of that right to all.

This brings us to another error that is often heard in connection with the propaganda of Socialism: namely, that Socialism and Individualism are antithetical concepts. Much confusion has been caused by setting the two against each other, in debate, discussion and exposition. The keen Socialist the world over is usually a keen individualist, and desires the Socialist state in order that its methods may be able to work out their personal destiny, and enrich the state by raising the standard of individual intelligence, character and accomplishment, which capitalism has reduced as far as the masses are concerned to a minimum. Man is both egoistic and gregarious. All social life is necessarily an oscillation or compromise between, or an harmonization of these two instincts. Both motives are equally important as agents to human progress. Absolute personal liberty is impossible, and incompatible with social liberty. In the phrase of Mill, "The liberty of each must be bounded by the liberty of all." "The basic principle of the Socialist state must be justice; no privilege can be extended to individuals or to groups of individuals." (Spargo.)

The Socialist State must be both a political democracy and an industrial democracy. Socialism is not bureaucracy, neither is it paternalism. The word Socialism applied to government ownership is lacking, is a misnomer. You can have government ownership, as in the case of Russia with her State-owned railways and liquor monopolies, but that brings Russia no nearer Socialism than the United States with her privately owned railways and liquor license system. Wherever you have State ownership there the principle of democratic control must operate, and the principle of universal adult suffrage (excluding imbeciles and criminals). In addition to representative government, the power of direct legislation must be operative, through the initiative, referendum, and right of recall, not only in matters of policing private enterprise, but in the broader administration of social industry. Here is the crux of the whole problem. In any department or industry, the term or conditions of employment cannot be decided without consulting the will of the workers themselves, nor on the other hand without reference to the community at large.

Just as the individual is both egoist and gregarious, so the State consists of both individual and social activities, obligations and responsibilities. Under Socialism the social activities and organisations would be extended, but personal responsibilities would scarcely be reduced. There would be freedom of the individual in all that pertains to science, philosophy and religion, freedom of movement and migration,

he moves in it without recollection of the old, and has forgotten in its use his own hereditary tongue."—Karl Marx, in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte."

except where quarantine laws interfered; freedom of speech, correspondence and dress, subject to decency; freedom to marry and raise families, subject most likely to regulation regarding age, mental and physical disease. All these and other purely personal liberties would remain very nearly as they are to-day, subject of course to the regulations which the State of to-morrow may find necessary to preserve and advance its welfare.

In the realm of what is called private enterprise in trade, manufacture and commerce, individual liberty would be greatly curtailed, though not altogether abolished as some would have us believe. The State (wherever private enterprise exploited the community, was inefficient or dangerous to the social well-being from whatever cause) would assume control, and operate to supply the peoples' need, instead of for profit. Belated efficiency must always be a determining factor, at the same time recognising, of course, that mere monetary profit is not always proof of economy of administration. For example: adulterated foods may be cheap, but it is poor stuff upon which to feed and build a nation; low wages may bring a cheap product, but they cannot build comfortable homes or rear strong children.

Socialism by no means involves the suppression of all private industrial enterprise. For example, suppose the State undertake the manufacture of shoes, but there are certain fastidious citizens who would not purchase a factory article, whether it be under State or private control; there are also some craftsmen who do not like factory work, but who prefer to make the whole shoe, and are willing to labour for the fastidious citizens on a basis agreeable to both. The State could surely find no good reason for forbidding the continuance of such a trade, providing the craftsman did not exploit some labourer who possessed no alternative. Even if inefficiency be present in such a case, it would be too insignificant to present itself as a public question. On the other hand there are things which cannot be left safely to private enterprise. It is true that Socialists have given grounds for the assumption that collective ownership was a kind of fetish with them, but we can get clarity on the point if we remember that collective ownership is not the end, but is proposed only as a means to an end, and if the end sought could be more speedily or better gained by any other method it would be adopted.

Socialism not being a static state and perfectly responsive to the will of the people it could always be decided just when an industry had reached its limit of usefulness as a private effort and when it should be socialised. It is not necessary to make a list of the industries that would be socialised. The economic structure of the new society would include at least the following: (1) Ownership of natural resources such as land, mines, forests, waterways; (2) operation of all the means of transportation, communication, except those of a purely private character; (3) operation of all industrial processes, in which large amounts of capital and associated labour are employed, except where voluntary co-operative groups democratically organised under State regulation existed; (4) the organisation of all public utilities; (5) the control of all functions of credit, thus ridding the people of one of the greatest sources of exploitation.

Furthermore, the State would organise for defence from invasion, fire, flood, famine, and disease, the maintenance of order, the administration of justice and education, the arrangement of international agreements, treaties, and the like. Thus the legal, medical and scholastic professions would be largely socialised.

There is no limit to the possibilities of the scientific organisation of industry. To-day there are thousands of lawyers, bankers, and traders, speculators, middle-men, advertisers, coupon-clippers, and dividend drawers, whose functions would necessarily disappear under Socialism, and who would be compelled to enter the producing class. While labour will be compulsory for the fit, and the Pauline injunction, "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat," would be applied, the immature, aged, sick, and infirm members of society would be treated with greater care than they are under Capitalism. Moreover, the greatest amount of personal freedom compatible with efficiency in administration would be accorded the workers. Changes of occupation would be free, subject only to the law of supply and demand.

The questions here arise, Who will do the dirty work? and How shall the men be paid? Socialism does not advocate equal pay for all, but it does believe in approximate equality of income. There is no reason to suppose that an occupation repellant in itself, might not be made more attractive if the hours were made relatively few, and the remuneration adjusted accordingly. Amongst men there is a natural inequality of talent. In any state of society men prefer to do the thing they

Australasian Socialist Party.

Principles and Policy.

1. Objective.

The Social ownership with Democratic control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

2. Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth that sustains society, while it is held in complete economic and industrial subjection to the capitalist class, which lives on the wealth produced by the working class.

To enable the working class to wage the class war, it must be fully conscious of the wrongs inflicted upon the workers by the capitalist class; and it must organise industrially to voice its wrongs and assert its claims. Then it will be prepared for political action to overthrow the usurping class and to abolish classes for ever.

The deaths by starvation, the millions of unemployed, the excessive toil for bare subsistence, the poverty, crime and consequent misery, are all the direct outcome of domination by the ruling class. That class must go.

The Australasian Socialist Party demands common ownership of all agencies of wealth production by the people themselves and the control of all industrial affairs on the basis of social equality.

The workers of Australasia must, without delay, take up their position along with the organised, class-conscious workers of all other countries. There is no escape from the thrall of capitalism short of its complete overthrow, and this can only be achieved by the class-conscious industrial and political organisation of the working class.

The Australasian Socialist Party, therefore, calls upon all workers to forthwith identify themselves with the existing A.S.P. Branches in their respective States, and to work unceasingly for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system, and for the emancipation of their class from wage slavery.

3. Guiding Rule.

The Australasian Socialist Party shall on all political and industrial legislation make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will the proposal advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Australasian Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Australasian Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

4. As to Palliatives.

Whereas the advocacy of political palliatives (so-called) tends to obscure the working class objective of emancipation from wage slavery, and thus causes the workers to expend time and effort to little purpose; and

Whereas political palliatives (so-called) as adopted by legislatures have rarely proved efficacious, and have usually created the need for further legislative restrictions, and therefore kept working class action circular instead of straight; and

Whereas political palliatives even if desirable are best obtained by educating and organising for basic ends, inasmuch as sops have ever been conceded when something more fundamental is the demand; be it

Resolved that the Australasian Socialist Party declares against a programme of palliatives, and urges the workers to concentrate their energies upon abolishing capitalism by perfecting their industrial organisations and only using the ballot for Socialist propaganda.

5. As to Political Action.

No member of the A.S.P. shall stand as other than the candidate of the A.S.P., or support other than the candidate of a Revolutionary Socialist Party for Parliamentary or municipal office. A Revolutionary Socialist Party shall be any party which bases its Propaganda on the recognition of the class struggle, and declares for the collective ownership of the

can do best. The born labourer would sooner draw water and hew wood than choose some loftier task. Adjustment of wages can easily be made a labour supply regulator, when there is more in one industry than the industry requires. The method of remuneration which will most likely operate under Socialism, according to Kautsky, the greatest living exponent of Socialism, is wages paid in money.

Finally, Socialism will not attempt to dictate how the individual shall spend his money. If one prefers automobiles, another fine art productions, mechanical tools or books, there is no reason why each should not be free to follow his own inclinations. The individual who hoarded his savings could do no very great harm, neither he nor his heirs could invest and thus become idle labour exploiters.

Thus will be the Co-operative Commonwealth—the democracy of Socialism; differing from all the class dominated states of history, private enterprise not excluded but limited, making the exploitation of labour and public needs, and interest for gain impossible; the private property of the few not expropriated, but for all time removed as an instrument of oppression, and the private and social property of the many increased ten-fold, giving a life neither subject to be bled by financial barons or sacrificed on the altar of mammon, nor owned by industrial despots, nor enmeshed in a network of government, but a life controlled as little as possible by government, and that government of the life's own making; not a life subject to a code of impersonal laws; but a life as free and spontaneous as possible—a maximum of personal freedom with a minimum of restraint.

means of production, distribution, and exchange, and has no programmes of Palliatives. No member or branch of the A.S.P. shall enter into any alliance temporary or permanent with any other than a Revolutionary Socialist Party. Socialist candidates shall be selected by the branches concerned, and where no branch exists by the Central Executive, and before running be endorsed by the Branches to which the candidate shall pledge himself to advocate and support the principles and policy of the A.S.P.

Before entering upon a campaign a candidate shall hand to his Branch a written resignation to be read in the event of him swerving from the A.S.P. Policy.

A candidate must have been for twelve months a member of the A.S.P.

6. As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the employing class, be-organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set cause it is a relic of a lower stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production. This, then, makes it imperative that industrial organisation on right lines must be so constituted that all but technical distinctions between crafts and callings must be eliminated, and sectionalism abolished. The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit and adopt such methods by which the might and power of the working class can be best exercised and demonstrated.

The A.S.P. affirms its pronounced and mature conviction that Compulsory Arbitration, Wage Boards, the New Protection, and the like, as manifested in slightly-differing enactments in the Australian States and New Zealand, have not been advantageous to the working class.

7. As to Compensation.

The Australasian Socialist Party vehemently protests against the working class being misled by the Labor or other parties into the belief that it is possible to socialize the instruments of production by a gigantic scheme of "buying out" or compensation to the possessing class, and warns the workers against endorsing such a utopian, immoral, and impracticable plan.

8. As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations are the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

9. As to Schools.

In declaring the need for Socialist Schools, the A.S.P. urges that same be established whenever and wherever the circumstances permit.

10. As to Historical Materialism.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production, and the time has now arrived when the present scientific tools of production, by being socially owned, would make possible the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

11. As to Education.

The A.S.P. declares for and supports the principle of Secular Education in State schools; and against subsidising denominational schools; and further holds that as State schools are composed of scholars of different religious beliefs, the introduction of religious teaching can only result in fostering religious bigotry, and is a waste of valuable time.

Verdict by the Defendant.

Inside the crowd I bus the woman sat,
Garbed all in black, a babe upon her knee;
Immobile, white, beneath a jet-strewn hat,
Her drawn face spoke for silent misery.
Before her, portly, purse-prond, spick and span,
A City "Gent" sat. Suddenly, she cried
"My man!" and shrieked at him, "They've killed my man!"
My God; it was for you, fat rogues, he died!"
They stopped the bus; she went upon her way.
The man of riches sat awhile and thought,
Then purred: "Poor creature! Quite—hm—let us say
Distracted. Not mad, perhaps, but—er—distracted."
Langdon Everard, in London "Herald."

"I find this vast network, which you call property, extending over the whole planet. I cannot occupy the bleakest crag of the White Hills of the Allegheny Range but some man or corporation steps up to show me that it is his."—Emerson, "Essays."

In Vienna the sale of the portrait of Jaurès was forbidden on Labor Day.

"An Irishman at the front was struck most by the large number of bullets flying around that didn't hit him."
—"N. Y. American."

A.S.P. News & Notes.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Objective.—The social ownership with Democratic control of the means of Production, Distribution and Exchange.
Headquarters: 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.
LUKE JONES,
General Secretary.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

Next meeting of the C.E. will be held on Sat. August 7.

LUKE JONES,
Gen. Sec.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Good propaganda meetings were held in Domain and Market and Park streets, all speakers were in fine form and literature sales were good. Com. Christopherson's address in hall was very interesting, and plenty questions, and discussion followed.

Branch meeting this Thursday evening, August 5th.
Social and Dance, Friday, August 6th, tickets 6d.

The Fancy Costume Social and Dance was a great success. Among the many dancers present, the following characters were noticed—Clowns, Indians, Geisha Girls, Country Girls, Folly, Temptation, Superstition, Swedish Girls, Waitresses, Chefs, Charlie Chaplin, William Mug and many others. The following contributed to the programme—Miss Smith, Masters Jackson, Ryan, Messrs. Webster, Nelson, McCormick Harford, and a most enjoyable evening was spent by all present.

FIXTURES.

August 8th, Domain: Rosenthal, Webster, Mrs. MacDonald, Roche.

Market-st.: Harford, Dwyer, Roche.

Park-st.: J. Jones, J. Quinton, Wyatt Jones.

A Debate will be held in the hall, on Sunday night, Aug. 8th, between Com. J. Roche, and Wyatt-Jones, on the Concentration of Capital.

J. L. Minute Secretary.

BALMAIN.

A record meeting was held on Sunday night by Comrades Sloan and Roche. The audience listened attentively until one of the next world advocates interrupted. Comrades are invited to lend a hand next Sunday night when a big audience and good addresses are promised. Mrs. Paul, Tom Sloan, and G. Nelson will officiate.

G. NELSON, Secy.

MOUNT LARCOM BRANCH.

We are still moving ahead. We hold meetings once a month at different places, at which comrades deliver addresses. On June 23rd, there was a good roll-up at Comrade Lesche's house, and a most interesting and pleasant evening was spent. The comrades who spoke gave some very instructive matter. On July 17, a Social was held at Comrade J. C. Jacobsen's, when the barn was utilised.

At the last business meeting the C. E. resolution in regard to conscription, was unanimously endorsed. Comrades should turn up at these business meetings, as important matters are dealt with. The workers are being killed in thousands daily, and our work is to wake them up.

They force you to build palaces, and they put you in tenements. They force you to spin fine raiment, and dress you in rags. They force you to build jails, and then lock you up in them. They force you to make guns, and then shoot you with them. They own the political parties, and they name the candidates and then trick you into voting for them. They herd you into armies, and send you to shoot your own brothers in other countries. Workers get ready to fight Conscription. If you agree to it, you help the Capitalist Class to enslave you. Get into the Socialist Party—Socialism is the only hope of humanity.

C. JACOBSEN, Sec.

BRISBANE.

The screw at last, was tightened sufficiently to force King Cahill to grant permits on Sunday to other than religious bodies. The meetings are held in North Quay on Sunday afternoons, and so far gather fair audiences. On Sunday last, a military officer, or captain, complained that one of our speakers was using words in his vocabulary which was contrary or unlawful according to the War-Precautions Bill (Andie's), and asked him to cease or he would issue a summons against him on the grounds that he was preventing recruiting! The speaker was referring to the limited amount of freedom, and the officer in his patriotic excitement demonstrated the Australian-British Freedom in a convincing manner. O, such an enormous

amount of freedom ours. Friday and Saturday nights' meetings were attended by large numbers, and by the arguments that followed the workers are beginning to think, even to defend their old ideas. The occult influence at times demonstrates the manner in which the working plugs are under the hypnotic influence of the cultivated spirit of patriotism and jingoism.

On Sunday night Comrade Smith gave a lecture on "war" before an interested audience in the Socialist rooms. He pointed out how the Christians who advocated "peace on earth, good will towards men," etc., had failed to do anything to prevent this bloody struggle, many advocated war as right—because it would clear out corruptness. The bible in many places justifies the horror of war. The National Socialists took up the attitude of being in favour of their particular country. Enormous sums are expended on war material by the respective countries. The total amount of one billion three hundred and forty-one million expended to blow each other to pieces. He also advocated a programme as follows:—A eugenic revision of the marriage laws, a sensible education of the youth, a united world, and an entire annihilation of the Christian Church. Considerable discussion followed, the evening concluded by all expressing the way they enjoyed themselves.

Will comrades please note the business night is on every Wednesday night. Please roll up.

On Friday night last, a good meeting was held in Market-square. The audience was not tainted anywhere with the Capitalist chloroform (Drink). Comrade Mandeno was in good form and doled out some good anti-military dope. On Thursday night we went round to hear Douglas Price of the Modernist Association. He gave a very good oration on "America." He took up the view of "Wealthy Traveller," middle class traveller, and working class traveller, also that of the tramp. He gave a good exposition of the narrow mindedness of the people in that which is moral and immoral. He cited the case of a woman (a stranger), going bathing without stockings, who was laughed at and chased from the beach as a bad woman. They do not like the natural condition of the human body. Even a monument was removed from the street to the museum, on account of not having enough clothes on. A very enjoyable evening was spent. Next Thursday night his subject is "Socialism in Peru."

The weather being unfavourable on Saturday and Sunday, we did not hold the usual meetings; but on Sunday night a slight discussion took place on "The destiny of Australia." The subject was discussed for some time by the few who assembled in the hall. The military system of Australia was considered the greatest menace of not only the Australian workers, but the world's workers. A great deal of discussion took place on the question of the White Australian Policy, which was shown that would cause a war in the continent, between some of the coloured races and Australians.

On Sunday next a Christian laborite will give a lecture on the Labour Movement.

Comrades please note—The meeting night of the branch, is changed to every Wednesday. Roll up!

ERN FREDLIEN.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

PRESS AND MAINTENANCE FUND
J. Fisher, 5/-. Domain Collection 10/-.
Tom O'Connor 10/-. O. Schrieber 1/-. J. Rasmussen 2/-. Club Social 6/6.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

A. H. Hilder 1/-. Voss 1/-. H. Jackson 1/-. J. Wilkinson 1/-. W. Andrews 1/-. W. J. Allworth 2/-. J. Wright 2/-. R. Thompson 1/-. H. Graupner 1/-. K. Karpinen 1/-. R. Kolm 1/-. C. Briot 1/-. D. Kerr 2/-. J. W. Martz 1/-. W. Harding 1/-. Mrs. A. McGregor 4/-. A. Haberley 1/-. J. Muir 1/-. N. Buchanan 2/-. S. C. Wyche 1/-. E. Madden 1/-. A. Hewitson 1/-. R. Hagan 1/-. *

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

The new league formed to combat the trend towards Conscription is putting in good work. On Sunday a monster meeting was held in Sydney Domain at which rousing speeches were delivered, and which the great audience heartily cheered. Many new members were enrolled at the close.

Membership is open to all who are opposed to Conscription and who are prepared to refuse service regardless of consequences.

All interested should communicate with.

THE SECRETARY.

330 Castlereagh-st.,
Sydney, N.S.W.

Books and Pamphlets on Sale and to Arrive.

- | Title. | s. d. |
|---|-------|
| The Positive Outcome of Philosophy, also in same volume Letters on Logic and the Nature of Human Brain Work (Dietsgen) | 4s. |
| Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring). Contains the most important portions of the larger work from which Socialism, Utopian and Scientific was taken (Engels) | 4s. |
| The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals. Shows the origin of mind and the relation of economics to morals (Fitch) | 4s. |
| Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History (Labriola) | 4s. |
| Socialism and Philosophy. In the form of familiar letters (Labriola) | 4s. |
| An Introduction to Sociology. A new and useful work for beginners, tracing the development of this new science, with estimates of the work of Comte, Spencer, Ward, Small, and other Sociologists (Lewis) | 4s. |
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| Capital, Vol. III, The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole (Marx) | 8s. |
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| Unionism and Socialism (Eugene V. Debs) | 6d. |
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| The Right to be Lazy (64 pages). (Lafargue) | 6d. |
| Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish. (Wilhelm) Liebknecht | 6d. |
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| Memoirs of Karl Marx. Delightful personal recollections (Liebknecht) | 4s. |
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| Life, Writing and speeches of Eugene V. Debs. A large volume originally published at 8s, containing all of Debs' most important writings, with a life sketch by Stephen M. Reynolds and a preface by Mary U. Marcy (Debs). Cloth. | 4s. |
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| Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848. The story of a fight won by wage-workers; then lost by their middle-class allies (Marx) | 2s. |
| The Communist Manifesto. First published in 1848, this is still the classic statement of Socialist Principles (Marx and Engels). Cloth, with Liebknecht's No Compromise | 2s. |
| The World's Revolutions. A historical study of the great Revolutions; the chapter on Christianity is especially fine (Untermann) | 2s. |

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Branch Rooms, 41 Enmore-road, Newtown.

Economic and Debating Class held every Wednesday night.

Dancing Class held every Monday night.

PROPAGANDA FIXTURES.

Friday night: Johnstone-st., Leichhardt.
F. Hancock, C. Jackson, J. Kilburn.

Saturday night: Newtown Bridge.
F. Hancock, C. Jackson, J. Kilburn.

Sunday night: Newtown Bridge.
G. Jackson, A. Thomas.

Members are requested to attend the branch business meeting on Aug. 10, at 8 p.m.

RAY EVERITT, Secretary.

NEWCASTLE.

Rudolph reports good progress from Newcastle and Maitland districts. Good meetings are being held, and good sales of the written word effected. Rudolph is to speak at Dudley next Sunday,

In a letter to W. D. Howells, Mark Twain paid a great tribute to Colonel Ingersoll. The passage is as follows:—

"I doubt if America has ever seen anything quite equal to it; I am well satisfied that I shall not live to see its equal again. How pale those speeches are in print, how full of color, how blinding they were in the delivery. Bob Ingersoll's music will sing through my memory always as the divinest that ever enchanted my ears. And I shall always see him, as he stood that night on a dinner table, under the flashlights and banners, in the midst of seven hundred frantic shouters, the most beautiful human creature that ever lived. 'They fought that a woman might own her child.' The words look like any other print, but, Lord bless me, he borrowed the very accent of the angel of mercy to say them in. And you should have seen that vast house rise to its feet, and you should have heard the hurricane that followed. That's the only test. People may shout, clap their hands, stamp, wave their napkins, but none but the master can make them get up on their feet."

"Economic parasitism, in its most extreme form, is based on chattel slavery; more highly developed, it is built upon land ownership; in its still higher forms, it fastens itself upon the social body with the strong bonds of capitalism. Whatever its form, its principle is the same."—Dr. Scott Nearing.

AUBURN BRANCH.

The above branch meets every Monday night in the Class Room, School of Arts, Queen-street, at 7.45 p.m.

Propaganda meetings are held every Friday evening at "Bundock," corner Auburn-road and Queen-street, at 8.15 p.m.

Those who desire to join should give their names to the branch Secretary,

J. J. KEGG.

THE International Socialist Review

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Economic Warfare is an application of Socialist principles to Australian politics.

It traces the growth of political parties from their inception, and explains the economic interests they represent.

It discusses the early aims and tactics of the Labor Party and shows where it has failed.

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Cash must accompany all orders.

Printed and published by William Robert Winspear, at 115 Goulburn-St., Sydney, for the Sydney Branch of the Australasian Socialist Party.